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From the Man Who Brought You SWAT **Return of the Night of the Animals**

STAT

WASHINGTON—The Senate's confirmation of Edwin Meese as attorney general, expected this week, will launch an oppressive new era in American law enforcement.

While the Meese hearings to date have concentrated on his questionable financial dealings, cronyism, and lack of personal ethics, the senators have never pressed the president's counselor about his 20-year obsession with law and order at the expense of civil liberties and freedom of speech. Why does Meese want to become attorney general, and what does he plan to do on taking over the Justice Department?

The answers to these questions are to be found in Meese's own political history in California, where he served as Governor Reagan's chief of staff, starting in 1969. (Meese also said during the confirmation hearings that he supervised the California National Guard, and served as Reagan's cabinet-level coordinator for the state's law enforcement, criminal justice, and corrections systems.) During the Vietnam War it was Meese, more than any other individual, who organized the modern system of internal security to crush political dissent.

Later, as President Reagan's counselor in Washington, Meese was the man behind the scenes, adapting California's Vietnam-era experiment on a national level to the seemingly placid social conditions of the 1980s. In place of student radicals and black militants, drugs and terrorism are the catchwords of the new program. Just below the surface lies potentially explosive political unrest: the farm depression, prolonged war in Central America, the Liberty City riots, etc.

To give one recent example of the hidden hand of Ed Meese:

When students began refusing to register for the draft in growing numbers, Meese pushed selective prosecution of the leaders as a way of intimidating others. He successfully supported introduction of the so-called Solomon Laws (named after Gerald Solomon, the conservative Republican congressman from New York), tying federal student aid and job training funds to draft registration. Finally, in an unprecedented move, Meese organized cooperation between the IRS, Social Security, and state motor vehicle records agencies so that resisters could be more easily identified and forced to register.

The origins of Meese's involvement with counterinsurgency go back almost two decades, to the height of the civil rights and antiwar movements.

Soon after the Detroit riots of 1967, Lyndon Johnson asked the CIA, FBI, and the Pentagon to help put a stop to violence in the streets. The FBI expanded COINTELPRO and the CIA expanded CHAOS—both domestic spying programs. In addition, the military created a special task force to work with the Kerner Commission, which had been established to analyze the cause of riots which began in Watts in 1965.

The Pentagon task force report proposed a new five-point program code-named GARDEN PLOT: the National Master Plan for Civil Disturbance Control. It, too, called for a massive intelligence scheme, utilizing informants and infiltrators. It also proposed that local police, the military, and national intelligence forces engage in joint training exercises in preparation for various emergencies, including a guerrilla war.

These training programs were designed for all major cities and implemented through the National Guard. In California, Governor Reagan established a spe-

cial training school at San Luis Obispo, and hired Louis O. Giuffrida, who had set up a similar school for the army at Fort Gordon, Georgia, to run it. It was at San Luis Obispo that California trained its first SWAT team, modeled on the army's Long Range Reconnaissance Patrols. The first shocking public display of a SWAT team in action came on live television in the May 1978 when the Patty Hearst kidnappers were surrounded and killed in a furious firefight in south Los Angeles.

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